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# SOCIOLOGY, OR THE SCIENCE OF INSTITUTIONS

*(Concluded)*

By J. W. POWELL

## HISTORICS

Historics is the science which records events of social life and shows the relation existing between social causes and social effects. A mere record of events is usually called annals, and furnishes the data for history. Only the history of peoples is usually called history, the history of individuals is usually called biography; but as we wish to include history and biography in the science which we are to characterize we shall call it historics, meaning that history and biography are included therein. We shall divide the periods or stages of social history into savagery, barbarism, monarchy, and democracy.

## SAVAGERY

To the ethnologist a savage is a forest dweller. In common conception the savage is a brutal person whose chief delight is in taking scalps. Sometimes the sylvan man is cruel,—but even civilized men are sometimes cruel. Savagery is a status of culture to the ethnologist, who recognizes four such stages, of which savagery is the lowest. Some of the Amerindian tribes belong to this lowest stage; while others belong to a higher stage which is called barbarism. Wishing to show my readers how a savage tribe is governed, I must at the outset ask them to consider the savage not as a man of cruelty, but as a man who takes part in a regularly organized government, with laws that are obeyed and enforced. What, then, is a savage tribe, and how does tribal society differ from national society?

The nation, like the tribe, is a compound group of people, the distinction between them being in the method by which the grouping is accomplished. All the people of the United States belong to the national group. They are citizens of the nation, and, at the same time, are divided into forty-five groups as citizens of states. In every state there are counties; and the people of the state are citizens of one or other of these counties. Then, again, the counties are divided into precincts, towns, or townships. Sometimes towns are divided into school-districts, and cities into wards. And there are numerous villages. Thus the people of the United States are organized in a hierarchy of groups, from the school-district to the entire nation. The territory of the United States is divided into subordinate districts throughout the hierarchy; and there are at least four groups in the hierarchy, viz., the town, the county, the state, and the nation,—or the ward, the city, the state, and the nation. Every citizen of the United States, therefore, belongs to four different organizations in a hierarchy. He has a vote in each organization, assists in the selection of its officers, obeys its laws, and holds allegiance to its authority. This is all very simple; but the plan of grouping or regimenting people by territorial boundaries is of late origin. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were grouped by a very different method. History teaches that the ancient Greeks and Romans were grouped by a different plan. In fact, it has been discovered that, in the two stages of culture which I have called savagery and barbarism, a very different plan of regimentation everywhere prevails. This plan is known as tribal organization.

Tribal organization characterizes the two lower stages of culture; though savage regimentation differs from barbaric regimentation in some very important particulars.

In tribal society people are grouped or regimented in bodies of kindred. Let us first examine this grouping in the savage tribe. A savage tribe is composed of clans. Let us obtain a clear idea of what is meant by a clan.

A tribe is a group of people composed of clans: a clan is a group of people having a common name. Suppose that a tribe springs from four persons, viz., a brother and a sister belonging to one clan, and a brother and a sister belonging to another clan, and that each of the men marries the other's sister. Let us call one of our clans "Wolf," and the other "Eagle." The Wolf man marries the Eagle woman; and the Eagle man marries the Wolf woman. This is the first generation of a tribe composed of two clans, the man and his wife belonging to different clans. The four persons belong to two clans, and constitute two families. Let us suppose that each couple has four children, two boys and two girls. They will belong to two clans. The children of the Wolf mother will belong to the Wolf clan, and the children of the Eagle mother to the Eagle clan, for the children take the name of the mother. This is the second generation. Then four people of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the Wolf clan; and four of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the Eagle clan. Thus we see that clans do not correspond to what we call families. The husband and wife belong to different clans; and the children belong to the clan of the mother, and take the name of the mother. The mother, not the father, owns the children; and the husband is but the guest of his wife, not the head of the household.

Suppose that each man of the second generation marries a woman of that generation who belongs to a different clan, and that each pair has four children, two boys and two girls. These children constitute the third generation. The children belong to the clan of the mother. There are now three generations of people in each clan; and every mother claims her own children as members of her clan. The head of the family is the mother; but the head of the clan is the grandmother's brother. Always the elder-man of the clan is the ruler of the clan; and the woman is the family ruler of her children. We may go on from the

hypothetical beginning of a tribe through successive generations ; and still the ruler of the clan will be the elder-man of the clan and will govern not his own children and their descendants, but his sister's children and their descendants. We may therefore define a clan as a group of kindred people whose kinship is reckoned only through females.

A clan always has a name, which is called its totem ; and the object from which it is named is in like manner called its totem. Thus, in the two clans which we have considered, the wolf and the eagle are respectively called the totems of the clan. The totem derives great consideration in savage society. It is usually some beast, bird, or insect, or some important plant, such as the corn or the tobacco ; or it may be the wind, the rain, a star, or the sun. The totem of the clan is considered to be the progenitor or prototype of the clan. The people of the Wolf clan claim to have descended from the wolf ; the people of the Eagle clan, from the eagle ; the people of the Wind clan, from the wind ; and the people of the Sun clan, from the sun. The totem is also the tutelar deity of the clan.

There grows up about the clan a singular set of rules and observances which are rites on the one hand and prohibitions on the other. The prohibitions are usually called taboos. Thus, the members of the Wolf clan must not kill a wolf, as the killing of the wolf is tabooed to the clan ; but if they see one they must perform some ceremony. The rites and taboos of the totem are universal in this stage of society, and are held as sacred obligations. One of these taboos is especially to be noted : A person must not marry into his own clan. The taboo is sacred ; and its violation is a horrible crime, which, in some tribes, is punishable with death.

An individual is likely to have as many kindred through his father as through his mother ; and he is also likely to have as many kindred through his wife by affinity as through his father and mother by consanguinity. All those persons to whom the

clansman is related through his father and through his wife, together with all the members of his own clan, constitute the tribe. Thus in savage society we have families, clans, and tribes. We have still a fourth unit. Two or more tribes may unite to form a confederacy for offensive or defensive purposes, or for both. When a confederacy is formed, artificial kinship is introduced; and the tribes which unite agree to consider themselves related. If two tribes unite, the men of the tribes may consider each other as elder and younger brothers, or as fathers and sons, or even as uncles and nephews. Where many tribes unite to form a confederacy, relationships are distributed to the members of the confederacy, but only after long conferences, where such questions are considered in detail. Thus we see that in tribal society men are not regimented or grouped territorially, as in national society, but are regimented by kinship, real or conventional as the case may be: the same end, however, is accomplished in full, that is, the people are grouped in a hierarchy of units. Thus in tribal society men are grouped or regimented by kindred; and each person belongs to at least four groups of different grades in the hierarchy. Certain things are regulated by the confederacy, certain things by the tribe, certain things by the clan, certain things by the mother of the family. In national society there is local government. In a democratic nation this is local self-government; and in a monarchical nation it is local government through officers appointed by the monarch. In tribal society there is group government, the questions of government being relegated to the several groups, and the elder-man of the group having authority.

In the course of generations some clans may die out, and the children be left without parents or grandparents: they must then be adopted into some other family. If they are adopted by a mother's sister they are still in the same clan; but if they are adopted by a father's sister they are considered as belonging to his clan, which is the same as that of his sister. It is thus that it

sometimes happens that children change clans and, consequently, their totemic names.

When the men of a clan go out to hunt or fish, to make a boat or build a house, or to do any other work together, the oldest man of the clan is the director of the enterprise, the chief. All Indians hold that superior age gives authority; and every person is taught from childhood to obey his superiors and to rule over his inferiors. The superiors are those of greater age; the inferiors, those who are younger. It is the law of tribal society that superior age gives authority, and that inferior age imposes a duty. But the people of a tribe do not know their age; for they do not keep a record of time. How, then, can they carry out this law? Well, they have a very simple device, by which every person in the clan may know that he is older or younger than other persons in the clan. Besides the totem name they have kinship names. Thus, there is a name for "father" and another for "son"; and the son always knows that he is younger than the father, and must obey him. Similarly the father always knows that he is older than the son, and that he has the right to command him. The same is true of mother and daughter. But there may be two or more brothers; so they have two names for "brother," one meaning "elder brother," and the other "younger brother." In the same manner they have two words for "cousin," one signifying "elder cousin," and the other "younger cousin." They have also two words corresponding to "uncle" and "nephew"; but the word meaning "uncle" is always applied to the elder, and the word which means "nephew" is always applied to the one who is younger. Thus in the Ute language there are two words: *ain* and *aitsen*. *Ain* applies to the one who is the elder, whether he be uncle or nephew; and *aitsen* applies to the younger, whether he be uncle or nephew.

So long as the tribesmen live together in clans they have a simple method of keeping in memory their relative ages: for the names by which they address one another always express the

difference in age ; and it is a law in tribal society that one person must address another by a kinship term. He may *speak of* another by his totem name, or by any other name ; but he must *address* another by his kinship name. It is always considered an insult to call another person of the same body of kindred by any name other than his kinship name. A Caucasian boy on the street may call his brother " John " ; but an Amerind boy in the woods must call his brother by one of the terms which show that he is older, or younger, than himself.

The oldest man of the clan having natural authority, according to Amerindian ideas, over all members of the clan is their chief ; and this is the basis of the patriarchy. A clan is said to have a patriarchal government.

Sometimes the elder-man or patriarch or chief becomes old and imbecile ; or there may be another man in the clan whom they suppose to have greater ability, and they conclude to make him the chief. In such a case the law is obeyed by a plan which lawyers term a legal fiction. The new chief is promoted ; and then he becomes the grandfather of the clan. If his father is still living, he is compelled to call his chieftain son " grandfather " ; if his elder brother is still living he is compelled to call the chief " elder brother " ; if his uncle is still living he is compelled to call the chief, " uncle." So, by this legal fiction, the chief is still the patriarch of the clan. Not only can a chief be promoted to the head of the clan, but from time to time different individuals in the clan are promoted over their fellows. A young man who proves himself to be skilful in fishing and hunting, or a brave warrior, may be promoted over his fellows, who thus become persons younger than himself and must address him as if he were older. Every year adds a new spike to the antlers of the stag. Some Amerinds call such a promotion the adding of a spike to a man's horns ; other tribes speak of it as adding another stripe to his paint ; and still others, as adding another feather to his bonnet. Sometimes a chief may prove to be a coward ; then he will be



deposed. Or an individual may disgrace himself, when he will be reduced in rank. When a man is deposed the Amerinds will say that his horns have been knocked off, or that his paint has been wiped off, or that his feathers have been plucked.

In a similar manner tribes and confederacies are governed by reckoning kinship in different ways, and making kinship by legal fiction. All such governments are patriarchal. It will readily be seen that such government is not possible in civilized society. What man can know the names of all the persons living in a county or a state; or who can learn all the names of the people who live in a city; and how can one trace out the kinship of the people of a city into clans? Tribal society, or kinship government, is therefore impossible in civilization, and is possible only where the group of people thus united in government is very small, and the members know one another as kindred.

I have already explained the adoption into other clans of infant children whose clan kindred have become extinct. Such cases seem to be infrequent; but there are other cases of adoption which are more common. Children, and even adults, captured in war are usually adopted into some clan. Our European ancestors observed a curious custom among the tribes of this country—that of running the gantlet. A prisoner was compelled to run between two lines of his captors armed with sticks or other missiles. This was formerly supposed to be a method of torture. On investigation it is proved to have had quite another purpose. The prisoner was given an opportunity to show his mettle, his courage, and his ability to fight his way through a line of clubs. If he acquitted himself manfully, any woman among the captors might claim him for her child. Children ran the gantlet of children only; but adults ran the gantlet of men, women, and children. Female children were rarely submitted to this ordeal. The adoption of a captive was his new birth into the clan; and his official age dated from his new birth. If he proved himself skilful, useful, and

especially wise, he might be promoted from time to time, until at last the captive might become a chief.

Captives taken from tribes that are hereditary enemies and between which there have grown historic feuds, and who are held to practice monster sins, such as cannibalism, are given a fixed status from their birth into the clan, which they cannot pass without promotion; for all persons naturally born into the clan may call them younger and have authority over them. This is the primal form of slavery: but by good behavior the rules of such slavery may be greatly relaxed, and captives from hated enemies may ultimately become promoted kindred.

A person may not marry another of the same clan, but usually he must marry some one of the tribe not in his own clan. Before the marriage customs of the tribes of America were properly understood, a theory of endogamy and exogamy was developed by McLennan and others, which has played quite a role in theories of ethnology. There are a great number of languages spoken by the tribes of America; so that the terms used to signify the clan and the tribe are multitudinous. The earlier writers on marriage customs in tribal society culled from the literature of travels a vast body of stories about taboos in marriage; and it was finally concluded that certain tribes required their tribesmen to marry women who were foreigners and aliens. This was called exogamy. Then it was held that other tribes required or permitted their tribesmen to take wives within the tribe; and this was called endogamy. So an attempt was made to classify the tribes of mankind, not only in America, but elsewhere, into two groups, the exogamous and the endogamous.

Now we understand that in all tribal society there is an endogamous, or incest, group, which we call the clan in savagery, and the gens in barbarism; while, at the same time, the clansmen usually marry within the tribe by regulations which vary greatly from people to people. It seems that the ties of marriage are used to bind different peoples together in one larger group which

we call the tribe, and that the clans of a tribe may at one time have been distinct tribes; that when tribes become weak, or desire to form permanent alliances with other tribes for offensive and defensive purposes, such tribes agree to become clans of a united body, and by treaty confirm the bargain by pledging not to marry women within their own groups, but to exchange women with one another. "Give us your daughters for wives, and we will give you our daughters for wives." Such a bargain or treaty, enforced for many generations as customary law, ultimately becomes sacred, and marriage within the group is incest. Perhaps there is no people, tribal or national, which has not an incest group; so all peoples are endogamous, as all peoples are necessarily exogamous. The distinction set forth by McLennan proves to be invalid everywhere and among all peoples.

Among the tribes of America there are many marriage customs establishing the group within which a person may marry. It may be that a man may marry within any clan but his own, or it may be that a man must marry within some particular clan. Sometimes there is a series of clans, which we will call *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *N*. A man of *A* must marry a woman of *B*; a man of *B* must marry a woman of *C*; a man of *C* must marry a woman of *D*, and so on; and, finally, a man of *N* must marry a woman of *A*. Tribes themselves composed of clans unite with other tribes also composed of clans; and in this consolidation into larger tribes there is found, in actual study of the Amerinds themselves, a great variety of regulations, all having the common feature of an incest group or clan, and further provision for bonds of friendship, which are perennially sealed by intermarriages. It thus happens that universally among the tribes of America marriages are regulated by customary law; and the parties married have no legal right to personal choice. Yet there are often ways established by which the clan confirms the personal choice. Though marriage is always regulated by the elders of the clan, yet they often consult the wishes of the candidates. There are

three marriage customs, springing up from time to time among the tribes, which require special mention.

A young man and a young woman may form a clandestine marriage and live apart in the forest, regardless of the consent of the elders of the two clans involved, until a child is born, provided the taboo is not violated, that is, that the two parties do not belong to the same clan.

There is another custom which the exigencies of life frequently produce. The clan of the bridegroom may have many male candidates for marriage, while the clan in which their brides are found may have few eligible women. Then the young man may wish to marry a woman in some clan other than that in which his rights inhere. In such a case the wife may be captured; but the capture is always a friendly one. If the girl has other contestants for her hand, she must be won by wager of battle. The battle is fought as a hand-to-hand conflict, without weapons other than those furnished by nature.

A third custom is found, especially on the western coast of North America, where men buy their wives. This seems to occur in the case of polygamy, where the man who takes a second or a third wife not only remunerates the woman's clan, but makes presents to certain persons throughout the tribe who might have an interest in disposing of the girl in some other way. This seems to be the case in many tribes where "potlatch" weddings are observed; and it may be true in all.

The possession of property which is exclusively used by the individual, such as clothing, ornaments, and various utensils and implements is inherent in the individual. Individual property cannot be inherited, but at death is consigned to the grave. Property which belongs to the clan, such as the house, the boat, the garden, etc., is common property. No article of food belongs to the individual, but is the common property of the clan, and must be divided by the authorities of the clan, often according to some rule by which a special portion is given to the person who

provides the food. Thus, when a hunter kills a deer, a particular portion is given to him; other portions may be given to those who assisted in its capture; and all the rest is divided according to the needs of the individuals of the clan. The women gather fruits, seeds, or roots; that which is consumed at the time is divided by like methods, but that which is preserved for future use sometimes becomes the property of the clan. The elder-man of the clan is responsible for the training of children; and it is no small part of his duty daily to exercise them in their games and to instruct them in their duties. Thus he who enforces clan custom is the same person who instructs in clan custom; and when councils of tribe or confederacy are held, he is the representative of the clan in such councils. The chief of the confederacy is usually the chief one of the tribes; and the chief of the tribe is usually an elder-man in one of the clans. There are clan councils, tribal councils, and confederate councils.

The council is the tribal court and legislative body in one. All Indian life is coöperative; and all coöperative life is regulated by the clan, the tribe, or the confederacy. The clan hunt and the clan fishing expedition are regulated by the council; and when the clan or the tribe would move the site of its village, the council must so decree and regulate the matter. The council of the clan settles disputes between individuals of the clan; the council of the tribe settles disputes between clans; and the council of the confederacy settles disputes between tribes. Sometimes the members of the clan live separately by households; but often the clan will build a council-house for all its members, when the households will be relegated to distinct sections. It is curious to see the people dissolved into households at one time, and at another aggregated in clans. If the clan moves temporarily to a favorite locality, where roots or fruits are abundant in their season, the clan may dissolve into households and provide for themselves rude shelters of bark, brush, and leaves; but if the clan wishes to change its habitation permanently, it is likely to

construct a new communal dwelling for the joint use of the members of the clan. Thus the clan seems to be the most permanent and most fundamental unit in the organization.

In the study of North American tribes it is always found that the purpose assigned and recognized for the organization of that unit is the establishment of peace. Two or more bodies go to war, and finally agree to live in peace, and make a treaty; and the terms of the treaty are invariably of one character, if they unite as a tribe. This fundamental condition for the organization of a tribe is, that the one party agrees that its women shall be the wives of the other, with a reciprocal obligation. This is the characteristic which distinguishes tribes from confederacies. A body of people organized for the purpose of regulating marriage is a tribe. A body of people organized for war is a confederacy. Thus the organization of a tribe itself is the first recognition of the principle of peace in the origin of constitutions. The confederacy is always the unit of war organization. It is doubtful—in the present stage of investigation, at least—whether a tribe, as such, ever engages in offensive war. Confederacies become tribes by customary intermarriages, especially when the tribe becomes the taboo unit of intermarriage. It is thus that the three units, the clan, the tribe, and the confederacy, are variable from time to time, although at any particular time these three units can be distinguished as well as the family or household unit.

There are peculiar circumstances under which the household unit is variable. This variability depends upon customs which sometimes spring up among tribes, and are known as polyandry and polygamy. Sometimes the man who marries a woman is entitled to marry her sisters as they become of age. There are other conditions under which men become polygamists; but they are not very common in savage society. In the same manner, there are cases in which the women of the clan are few as compared with the men to whom they are due; and, hence, one

woman becomes the common wife of several men. This is polyandry. It is not certain that polyandry has ever prevailed in an Amerind tribe; but certain forms of polyandry are found elsewhere, especially in Australia, where the clan system has an aberrant development, doubtless due to the development of many tribes of the same linguistic stock, and to the spread of the same totemic clan largely over the Australian continent.

Another organization, which involves all civic relations, must now be explained. There is a body of men (and sometimes of women also) who are known as medicine-men or shamans, and sometimes as priests, who control all religious ceremonies and who are diviners. As disease is supposed to be the work of human or animal sorcery, it is their function to prevent or thwart sorcery. They have the management of all ceremonies relating to war, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of the fruits of field and forest. It is their office to provide with ceremony for abundant harvests, to regulate the climate, and generally to divine and control good and evil. The principal shamans are men; but all the people are united into shamanistic societies. Usually there is some determined number of these societies, over each of which some particular shaman presides; and he has subordinates, each one of whom has some particular office or function to perform in the societies. Sometimes a person may belong to two or more of these societies; usually he has the privilege to join any one: and a revered or successful shaman will gather a great society, while a shaman of less influence will preside over a society more feeble.

Let us call these societies ecclesiastical corporations, and the shamans priests. The way in which they are regimented and controlled differs from tribe to tribe; and there is a great variety of ceremonial observances. In all civic councils the ecclesiastical authorities take part and have specified functions to perform; and they introduce into civic life the ceremonies which they believe will produce good fortune. Perhaps the ecclesiastical

authorities may be more powerful than the civic authorities, and the hereditary line of special ecclesiastical governors may gradually overpower the civic constitution and absorb it as a secondary element in the ecclesiastic constitution. For it must be remembered that the chief priests are men, and that the women play a very small part in ecclesiastical affairs. Now, as the men manage ecclesiastical affairs as chief priests, so civil affairs are managed mainly by men as elder-men. The conflict which sometimes arises between the two forms of government is mainly between men and men, or between able elder-men and able shamans; but sometimes both officers are combined in one person, and the great elder-man may also be the great shaman.

#### BARBARISM

In barbarism the tribe is composed of groups which we call gentes, and is said to have a gentile organization. Among the Romans such persons were known as agnates. A group of agnates is composed of persons who reckon kinship through males. Gentile organization is best known through the early history of the Romans and Greeks; it was well developed among the peoples of early history who spoke the Sanskrit language; it appears among the early Anglo-Saxons; a few tribes in North America have gentile organization, and it has been at one time or another widely spread throughout the earth. As a clan is a group of people who reckon kinship through females to some ancestral female, real or conventional, so a gens is a group of people who reckon kinship through males to some ancestral male, real or conventional. It seems that the primordial constitution of the tribe is by clanship and that the clanship tribe is developed into the gentile tribe. Most of the tribes of North America have clanship organization, yet there is a goodly number with gentile organization, while perhaps it may be said that a majority of the clanship tribes have some elements of the gentile organization; so that it may be justly affirmed that a great many of the tribes on this continent



are in the stage of transition, and there is scarcely a gentile tribe which has not some feature of clanship organization as a survival. But more than this—all of the tribes of North America have come into association to a greater or less degree with the European invaders, and have thus taken on some of the elements of civilized culture, so that the Columbian period has been one of very rapid development in tribal organization. Now, again and again we find abundant evidence that the savage tribe yields its peculiarities by exchanging them for barbaric characteristics. A review of the evidence which has been accumulating through a series of years on this subject demonstrates that clanship organization develops into gentile organization. To set forth in a summary manner how this development is accomplished will perhaps be the best method of explaining the nature of a barbaric government.

In savagery there are societies which are organized for the purpose of securing the coöperation of ghosts in the affairs of mankind. These societies are often called phratries or brotherhoods, and are the custodians of the lore of unseen beings. They occupy themselves with ceremonies and various practices intended to secure advantages and to avert evils which are attributed to multitudinous ghostly beings which are supposed to have tenuous bodies and to live an occult and magical life as they take part in human affairs. Everything unexplained is attributed to ghosts. The leader in these thaumaturgic societies is called by white men a medicine-man, or sometimes priest, or even a thaumaturgist; a more scientific term is shaman. The phratry over which the shaman presides has a special care of health and the occult agencies of welfare, so he presides over elaborate ceremonies which have a religious significance. These phratries, called by some of our writers societies, take a very active part in savage society, for much of the time of the people is occupied in the performance of the rites of thaumaturgy antecedent to any enterprise of importance in which the clan may engage.

These phratries which are organized to obtain the assistance of ghosts develop periodical ceremonies which are designed to secure the annual productions of nature upon which human welfare depends. Thus the fishing tribes of the Pacific coast that depend largely for their food on the coming of the salmon from the sea at stated times have ceremonies designed to secure their coming; those that depend upon cereals, like wild rice, also have their ceremonies to invoke the aid of ghosts to bring abundant seeds. In arid lands, where vegetation is so dependent upon rain, these ceremonies take the form of invocations for rain. Thus in every region of the United States periodical ceremonies are performed to secure harvests and supplies of game.

Again, human beings are subject to many diseases which are universally attributed to ghosts. Ceremonies to ghosts are common for the purpose of propitiating them or of preventing their malign influences or even of obtaining the aid of some ghosts to defend the people from other ghosts. Societies, or incorporations, as we have called them, but which are often called phratries, or brotherhoods, are first incorporated among men as religious societies on the theory that the good and evil of life are largely dependent upon ghosts.

In tribal life the head of such a society, if it be a man, is known as father; in some few cases the head may be a woman, when she is known as mother. The children of such a head of society are known as brothers and sisters, hence among classical peoples they were known as phratries.

These brotherhoods constitute an important element in savage society, and their chiefs have on some occasions quite as much influence as the governmental chiefs. Often the father of the brotherhood and the elder-man of the clan is the same person. When this is the case, authority is doubly established. Ultimately this union effects a reorganization of the tribe itself, and clans become gentes. How this is accomplished we must now explain.

Clans are the bodies corporate for all industrial purposes. Much of the hunting is clan hunting without firearms; the wild animals have to be entrapped or captured by many devices in which all the members of the clan take part. These clan hunts are important occasions, when distant woods, distant valleys, or distant mountains become the theater of operations. Under these circumstances it sometimes happens that the male members of the clan desire to have their wives with them, but their wives belong to other clans and have their households with other clans, hence on such hunting excursions the clan organization is to a greater or less extent interrupted and the women fall under the control of their husbands instead of their brothers and mothers' brothers. This is but a temporary arrangement; but it often occurs where the clans resort to some favorite stream or seaside resort to gather and dry fish. By and by agriculture is developed. The cultivation of the soil seems usually to have been first developed in the arid lands. Everywhere in America where a primitive tribe has engaged in irrigation for agricultural purposes we find a tribal village as a central winter homestead, with a number of outlying villages or rancherias, which are occupied by the several clans during the season of irrigation. To understand the nature of primitive agricultural industry in America it becomes necessary to take these facts into consideration. In every great ruin group in America situated in the arid lands where agriculture was practiced, and also in such humid lands as were cultivated, a central ruin of the habitations of the tribe is found with outlying ruins or rancherias. When people have thus reached the state of agriculture where irrigation is practiced there is still stronger reason why the clansmen should control their wives and children. Irrigation requires the management of the stream which is used to fructify the soil, and irrigation works must be constructed. The stream must be dammed and the water carried over the land by canals; this means the construction of works that have a perennial value, and attention

to the crops during the season of irrigation as well as that of planting and harvesting. One clan on one little stream is separated from the other clans, who also have their streams during the entire season of growing crops, and the clan is thus segregated in a little summer village of its own, and in a distinct village from that occupied by the tribe during the remainder of the year.

Again, as animals are domesticated and flocks and herds are acquired, wives and children become still more essential to the prosperity of the men, for the women and children must take part in the care of the flocks. By all of these agencies the control of women and children is taken from elder brothers and given to the husbands, and the practical accomplishment of this change results in a new theory of the family—the children are no longer considered the children of the bearing mother, but of the generating father; that is, the children belong to the father, not to the mother, for in tribal society there seems to be an inability to conceive of mutual parenthood and authority. In the clan the mother is the parent and owns the children, and the father is but temporarily the guest of the wife and children.

But when the elder-man has the authority of the shaman, he easily usurps the authority of the elder-man of his wife's clan, especially when such authority is conducive to his industrial interests; for the same reason that impels the elder-man to this acquisition of authority impels the elder-man of his wife's clan to a corresponding assumption of authority, so the interest of the one is the interest of the other. There may be many clans in the tribe, and all the elder-men are interested in the like acquisition of authority and are alike willing to give and take. When this transfer is made into what we now call the gens, and the elder-man or chief of the gens has authority over his wife and children, this authority waxes very great, for he has a double power—that of the elder-man and that of the shaman, and we have the same state of affairs among the barbaric tribes of America that is exhibited to us in the historic account of the

tribes of the Greek and Roman peoples, and in fact of all of the Indo-European peoples. Under these conditions kinship is reckoned in the male line and the clan is transformed into the gens. The ruler of the gens is the patriarch who has a right to control by reason of superior age; for the law that the elder rules is still supreme, but the elder rules with a rigor unknown in savage society.

The phratry does not become the gens, though it is efficient in transforming the clan into the gens, and the phratry or brotherhood becomes a fifth unit in the hierarchy of incorporations which constitute a barbaric society. The family remains as a more or less distinct unit of organization composed of the father, mother, and children, or it may hold together as a group ruled by the grandfather. The gens still remains as a group controlled by the patriarch or chief who is in fact or by legal fiction the chief or ruler; but there is a tendency in the gens to break up into a number of households, each one ruled by a real or conventional elder-man. Then comes the phratry, which is a group of gentes. To this group are relegated many functions.

We must now understand something more about the religion of gentile tribes. In this stage private and public religion are pretty clearly differentiated. The elder-man of the gens officiates as the priest in the domestic worship, but the public worship is conducted in the council chamber, or, as it is usually called in America, the kiva, which is the place of meeting of a brotherhood or phratry, and the ceremonial worship of the people is conducted in this place. Among the Greeks the kiva was called the prytaneum. Various names are used among the barbaric tribes of America, and various names were used among the barbaric tribes of the Orient. In the upper stages of savagery there is developed a calendar system by which the kiva ceremonies are regulated. The various codices which have been discovered in Central, North, and South America are all of them calendars designed to regulate the ceremonies of the kiva. The kiva

worship is controlled by the phratral unit, that is, by the brotherhood. This place of worship is also the place where the council of the brotherhood is held. Sometimes the council of the tribe is held now at one, now at another, of the kivas. The kiva is the general place for divination where the signs are consulted for the purpose of determining whether enterprises will be successful or not. All of the operations of the people and all of the things in which they are most deeply interested are controlled by these ceremonies held in the kiva. Especially is the weather controlled, for it is here where they pray for rain, or pray for the abatement of storm. It is where the ceremonies are performed which determine the nature of the crops. It is here where health or sickness is found. When the individual is once under the power of a disease the shaman may go to his relief and gather about his sick-bed the members of the phratry who sing, dance, and perform other ceremonies for his recovery. It is in the kiva where trials for witchcraft are held.

In all barbaric societies and in many savage societies there is a place for the tribe to assemble. When architecture is developed this is called the temple, but very often it is a mere plaza under the shelter of trees, where special seats are furnished for the brotherhoods. Here men are promoted or invested with horns, feathers, or stripes,—the investiture is always a time of merrymaking, with a feast and with dancing; and here men are deposed.

Tribal life is chiefly public life. There is little domestic seclusion; often the house is a communal house for the entire clan or gens. Nearly all hunting is public hunting, nearly all fishing is public fishing, nearly all gathering of seeds is public gathering of seeds, nearly all gathering of roots is public gathering of roots; all agriculture is public agriculture, and all herds are public herds. The kiva is the gathering place of the brotherhoods, and here they meet not only for religious ceremony but to pass the time in conversation or in jest. Here the shamanistic

orator entertains the people, and here the men do their weaving and the women their basket work. The kiva is the general place of rendezvous.

In barbarism, where all the units of regimentation are fully developed, there are families, gentes, tribes, and confederacies, and for every unit there is a system of worship, and the high priest of the unit is the elder-man or chief of the unit; worship is thus specialized. The hearth of the family is the altar of the family. The place of worship of the gens is the kiva or prytaneum. The kiva of the chief of the tribe is usually the kiva of the tribe. But sometimes the tribe has a special kiva independent of that of the gentes and we call it the temple; the chief of the confederacy is also the chief of the leading tribe, and the kiva of the confederacy may thus become the kiva of the tribe, but usually confederacies only have temples. Thus three places of worship may always be recognized in barbaric society. On the hearth-stone worship is performed by oblations and other ceremonies, and sometimes with paraphernalia; in the kiva worship is performed with much ceremony and with very elaborate paraphernalia, while in the temple worship is performed especially for militant purposes and is elaborate and ceremonious. I know not why four or five places of worship should not be developed in tribal society; but I have never discovered more than three, though I always discover the five kinds of worship.

When the fathers of the phratries become the elder-men or chiefs of the other units in the hierarchy of governmental units, barbaric society is fully organized and savage society is fully overthrown. When we come to apply the criteria which we have set forth to particular tribal bodies, a difficulty arises in segregating savage bodies from barbaric bodies, for in many instances in America we find some of the characteristics of savagery and others of barbarism. Gradually a custom has grown up among the students of these societies to relegate a tribe to savagery which has the characteristics of savagery predominant, and to

relegate a tribe to barbarism which has the characteristics of barbarism predominant; but in so doing we make clan organization by kinship in the female line the deciding mark of savagery, and gentile organization by kinship in the male line the deciding mark of barbarism.

#### MONARCHY

The cradle of civilization was rocked by the waves of the Mediterranean. Of the origin of one of the monarchies here established we have much history. In the Greek and Latin languages there is found a literature in which is recorded the development of the Hellenic and Latin tribes into a monarchy far beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, through Europe on the north and large portions of Asia and Africa on the south. Of the nature of the monarchies absorbed by Rome and of the nature of the tribes absorbed in northern Europe, we have comparatively little data, but of the Hellenic and Latin tribes we have much history. By adding to this history the comparatively little-known history of the tribes that were amalgamated in the monarchies on the south, and the still less-known history of the tribes on the north that came under the dominion of Rome, and by interpreting this tribal history from the standpoint which modern civilization has gained by the study of savage and barbaric peoples, we are able to reconstruct an outline of the history of the origin of the Roman empire.

As the Roman empire was founded on the inchoate monarchies into which the Hellenic and Latin tribes were developed, the literature of this transmutation is recorded in these languages. The modern European nations are in some sense the offspring of the Roman empire, and a family of these nations was developed.

After the fall of the Roman empire a period of centuries elapsed which are often called the Dark Ages. History which we may not stop to recount led to what is usually denominated the Revival of Learning. Then the younger nations sought in the



literature of Greece and Rome for the history of their origin, and they found in these languages the records of a high state of culture, especially in architecture, sculpture, poetry, and metaphysics. Thus the Greek and Latin languages were the repository of "the wisdom of the ancients" on these subjects. To trace the evolution of European religion it is necessary for us to go to its source in the Hebrew; but to discover the origin of the governmental institutions we must go first to the Greek to discover the nature of the barbaric tribe, and then to the Roman to discover the nature of the monarchy, and from the two sources we may learn the development of tribal society into monarchical society. We must now characterize in a few sentences the agencies by which barbaric society is transformed into monarchical society.

We first note that the more highly cultured tribes are domiciled in walled cities. Every such city is a center of culture superior to that exhibited by tribes not yet domiciled in walled cities.

In savagery the custom of causing the captive to "run the gantlet" was early observed by civilized men, but the significance of the custom was not understood, for it was supposed to be only a method of torture. Prisoners who have long remained in the custody of their captors tell us of the significance of the custom. Modern scientific investigation clearly reveals its nature. There seems to be a desire among savage people to increase their numbers by incorporating captives into the body politic. Such captives are often selected to take the place of persons killed or captured by the enemy. Sometimes the captive is required to exhibit his courage and skill by causing him to "run the gantlet," and if he emerges from the ordeal with honor some woman adopts him as her son. When thus taken into the clan his birth dates from his adoption. He is, therefore, younger to all the members of the clan who at that time are living, but he is elder to those subsequently born. The captive may be promoted from time to time as other members of the clan if he wins such promotions by good conduct. He may thus become the elder-man of the clan or

even the chief of a tribe or confederacy. There are circumstances under which the captive is refused promotion—as for example captives taken from hereditary enemies who are believed to be sorcerers, or who are popularly believed to be cannibals, that is, to eat human bodies for food instead of in a ceremony of magic which is the universal practice. The captive is thus doomed to perpetual *youngership*, if the term may be permitted; that is, to perpetual servitude, because all other members of the tribe may consider him as last born and never to be advanced in age. In savagery there seems to be but little evidence of this state; but when in barbarism agricultural and zoöcultural industries are organized, and other industries are carried on for exchange, then the labor of captives becomes an important factor in the industrial life of the people, so that captives are taken, not simply to reduce the numerical power of enemies and to increase the numerical power of the captors, but they are also taken as laborers; then labor slavery is first developed. Before this stage family slavery only exists. In the brief account which we are giving, what seems to be a radical change must always be considered not as an instantaneous change but a change which requires centuries of history with its vicissitudes of many different examples, occurring at different times, which furnish instances of evolution only in part representing the final change, but changes on changes in the treatment of captives resulting at last in changing family slavery into labor slavery. We will hereafter see how labor slavery is changed into chattel slavery.

Walled cities become cities of wealth because they are centers of esthetic and industrial art. The aggregation of wealth in these cities makes them rich prizes and stimulates war, so that wars are instigated not only by current disagreements, as in savagery and barbarism, but by greed for wealth which consists in the stores accumulated in cities and in the labor of the inhabitants when captured. Vengeance is a powerful motive for war, but greed has greater might.

When men are gathered into cities, the land which they cultivate extends far outside their walls, and the animals which they domesticate are pastured on distant hills. In the stage which we are now discussing, slaves are employed as artisans in the city, and they are also employed as agricultural laborers and herdsman in the country. Their employment in this manner requires surveillance lest they escape. To prevent their escape and to relieve the constant watchfulness of their masters, it becomes necessary to give them many inducements to remain and labor; this is accomplished by giving them an interest in the soil and an interest in the flocks and herds, and by promoting their domestic life. Thus slaves become clients. Sometimes whole tribes are conquered and employed as clients to cultivate their own lands. Thus captives become serfs attached to the soil, and the title to the serfs passes with the title to the soil.

Still the conquering city may reduce other tribes to vassalage and require of them annual tribute, but permit them to continue in the pursuit of happiness and welfare by their ancient methods subject only to the collection of tribute. Sometimes the tribute may be in men, and is furnished to the armies of the conqueror.

It is thus in monarchy that various forms of servitude are found, as family servants, as clients, as serfs, as vassals, and chattel slavery itself is common.

In tribal society the integration of bodies politic is mainly by treaty agreement for offensive and defensive purposes, for this seems to be the method of organizing confederacies; but in monarchical society much integration is accomplished through conquest by which foreign peoples are reduced to subordinate positions impelled by ambition. They may be made slaves by the greed for gold, but they may be made subjects by the ambition to rule. Such subject provinces must pay tribute, and usually the tribute-bearing people must be subject to rulers who are themselves subject to the central government, as members of the

central aristocratic class. Thus monarchies are integrated through slavery and provincial government.

There is yet another element of the transmutation which we must set forth. This is the consolidation of religious power in the chief of the central city, who is not only a king but high priest of all the units of the monarchy. In the central city resides the central authority. The central tribe, in which are not included domestic servants, constitutes a distinct body politic with all its hierarchy of units, with its chief ruler who is also high priest, and subordinate rulers who are also subordinate priests. The subject provinces are governed by rulers who emanate from the central city. The people of the central city thus constitute an aristocracy to govern the subject provinces. When things are brought to this pass the pure monarchy is developed. It will be seen that the fully fledged monarchy is a stage of society of long growth, but the steps in its growth are very irregular and often turn back before monarchical society is instituted.

We have said that the emperor is the high priest of the people. Finally the high priest is fired with the ambition to become the high priest of all religions. Then comes the time of persecution for non-conformists, and then comes that motive for war which is most potent—the doctrine that false religions may be eradicated by force. Then come the profound belief in the thaumaturgic doings of the god of aristocracy as miracles, and its concomitant belief that the doings of false gods are sorcery.

Such are the agencies by which tribal society with kinship regimentation is developed into national society with district regimentation, where the land of the aristocracy is the home of central government, and the provinces subordinate units of the nation. In savage society the most important unit of organization is its body of kindred who reckon membership in the female line. In barbarism the most important unit of regimentation is the body of kindred who reckon membership in the male line, and the patriarch becomes the high priest. In the

monarchy the people are regimented by lands. The capital of the country of the aristocracy is the seat of government, the provinces are minor units of government, and the monarch is the vice-regent of the god.

In monarchy a method of government and a consequent stage of society in hereditary ranks obtain. As the units of government constitute a hierarchy of control both in civil and religious conduct, so also there is a hierarchical aristocracy. Position in this aristocracy is determined by hereditary descent. Every person is born into a status of rank in society.

The kingship is inherent in a family and descends from father to son. In the failure of lineal descent the kingship passes into a collateral line. Thus a dynasty is produced which continues from father to son, or to nephew, or occasionally to daughter or niece, until such dynasty is overthrown.

Other members of the aristocracy are nobles of various ranks ; but nobility passes from father to son, the eldest living son taking precedence, and the title may pass beyond lineal descendants into collateral lines. The monarch may create new orders of nobility at will ; and he may create nobles from the common ranks, and may also promote from rank to rank. It is thus that position among the nobles is in the gift of the crown as a reward for service. A shrewd monarch uses his power not only to reward men for service, but also to keep up a body of persons of superior capacity to coöperate with him in sustaining the royal authority and dignity.

In this manner a governing body is constituted in a hierarchy of ranks, social, governmental, and religious, with the power which inheres in wealth, the power which inheres in government, the power which inheres in the command of the armies, and the power which inheres in ecclesiastical domination and dignity.

This comparatively small group of persons rule over the people, who are also arranged in a more or less clearly defined hierarchy of ranks, as freemen, serfs, and slaves. The freemen

constitute a middle class, as merchants, artisans, farmers, and soldiers. In this class also there is a tendency to differentiate the people by their occupation into hereditary groups as guilds, so that the man inherits the occupation of his father. An extreme development of guilds results in the development of caste. In caste, intermarriage between groups is forbidden; the higher castes become sacred, while the lower castes are held by the higher castes as unclean, and not only is intermarriage prohibited, but many other social functions cannot be carried on in common.

The failure of lineal descendants in the monarchy leads to disputes over the succession, and dynasties are often changed. The same fact appears in the successions which occur in the ranks of the nobles. Sometimes these successions become a matter of interest to the crown, so that the monarch often takes part in determining successions, thus rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies. Throughout the stage of monarchy great armies are organized, and sometimes successful commanders arise, and such commanders are rapidly promoted into the ranks of the aristocracy. Sometimes successful warriors become ambitious even for supreme rule, and may overthrow the reigning dynasty to usurp its wealth, honor, and power. Thus hostile dynasties are produced.

We have now presented a meager and perhaps inadequate account of that stage of society which we call monarchy; but the hope is entertained that the characterization has been sufficient to make plain how kinship society is transmuted into territorial society, while yet the principle of kinship with authority and privileges with the elder remains only in the governing groups as an aristocratic body.

#### REPUBLICKISM

Tribal governments are almost pure democracies, if we understand by that term that leadership and measures of government

are submitted to the voice of all the people for decision. The ideal of tribal government which is forever held in view, though it may be obscured, is that of a pure democracy founded on the will of all the people directly expressed by them as individuals.

When national government is established on a territorial basis, democracy is overthrown and kingship with aristocracy takes its place, and monarchical society is organized. Monarchical society, in turn, gives place to a fourth stage, which we here call republicanism. We use the term in no partisan sense and select a new form of the word in order to avoid partisan implications. The term republicanism, as used by statesmen, of whatever party they may be, usually signifies a method of representative government. It is in this sense that we use the term republicanism, and we leave the term democracy and also the term republicanism to be used with partisan meanings.

As the fifteenth century drew to a close, Columbus, the great navigator and discoverer, became the promoter of an enterprise to sail westward from Europe in quest of a better route to the Indies, a land of fabulous wealth. For centuries scientific men had believed in the spherical form of the earth, but the great body of the people did not accept the doctrine. After many unsuccessful attempts Columbus at last sailed westward with a fleet bought at the price of the good Queen's jewels. Instead of discovering a route to the Indies, he discovered a new world. Perchance others had previously discovered land at the north, but they knew it not as a new world, nor did they know it as a gateway to the land of fabulous wealth, nor were they impelled to the discovery by the acceptance of a doctrine of science. The merit of Columbus was his faith in science, and as a reward for his faith history crowns him as the Great Discoverer. The new world was the trophy of science.

The new world became the theater of new enterprise. The discovery gave to science the hope that it might prevail against superstition. Perhaps the thought that science may be useful to

mankind was more potent with boon to man than the enlargement of the theater of industrial enterprise.

Be this as it may, the new world became the home of republics. The example of these republics has spread the egis of free institutions over much of western Europe, and the leaven of freedom works unrest for all monarchical governments of the world. The principles of representative government may seem to flourish best when republics are founded in due form, but they have an almost equal potency in reforming monarchical governments. Such governments may not formally adopt republicanism in terms of free institutions, but by a legal fiction they may engraft on the monarchy the substantial principles of republicanism, though nominally they are governed by an aristocracy with a kingly chief. Formal republicanism and virtual republicanism seem thus to be competing for universal dominion, though competition may in fact be coöperation.

The agencies at work to transmute monarchy into republicanism may be summarily, though imperfectly, stated in the following manner:

First, the industries of the world are undergoing transmutation. Inventions multiply with the scientific thought that was born with the discovery of Columbus. Brawn is governed by brain, and brain through brawn governs the forces of the world, and thus men are emancipated from toil. Through invention toil is raised to the dignity of industry sweetened with pleasure and rewarded with welfare.

The invention of machinery and the development of scientific processes of production have had potent effect on the reconstitution of society. Handicrafts have been revolutionized by the introduction of a high degree of intellectual skill, as manual skill is relegated to the operation of machinery to which great precision is given. When manual skill was obtained only by long practice in a restricted number of manual operations, it was held to be necessary to serve a long apprenticeship to a trade ;



but as the machine performs all the nice mechanical work, the artisan turns his attention to the control of the machinery, and to be successful in its manipulation he must understand the principle of mechanism and the application of powers to the accomplishment of human purposes. The skill now required in handicraft is the skill of intelligence supplemented with universal skill in handiwork. It is thus that industry is emancipated from the system of slavery involved in apprenticeship, and a new system is rapidly developing in which childhood and youth are taught the fundamental elements of all handicrafts in the common schools. Political economists have deplored the inability of laborers to change their occupation, seeing that the introduction of machinery destroys many a special handicraft, and the laborers employed therein are compelled to seek employments without the benefits of apprenticeship. The introduction into industry of scientific methods practically makes them all accessible to all men.

Another change to be noticed is the enlargement of the sphere of commerce. Production may now be carried on in the most economic manner wherever special conditions exist favorable to production; climates may be more thoroughly utilized for the development of special products, and powers may be utilized wherever they are found under the most favorable conditions in nature. The enormous cheapening of products by their narrow specialization and by their multiplication through the efforts of the few who are the most favorably conditioned for the special production, requires that the producers of large quantities of special goods be distributed to great numbers of consumers, and thus commerce is multiplied. For the development of commerce to meet these new conditions, inventions are employed, and the highways of commerce are made to ramify throughout the country and throughout the world. All of these processes coöperate in the reconstitution of society by specializing industries and integrating them through commerce, and the

lesson is taught in everyday life that human success is best promoted by serving others.

Second, from the primeval state of society up to that state of society which we call republickism, tribes and nations were kept asunder by walls of language. An unknown tongue was a herald of enmity and a mark of folly, and aroused all the hate of superstition. When culture was buried in the classical languages, and when the accomplishment of the student was measured by his knowledge of these tongues, a great impetus was given to the acquisition of languages. Since science is promoted by all civilized nations, science itself demands a knowledge of many modern tongues. By all of these agencies it is discovered that a foreign tongue is not an unmeaning jargon, and language itself is no longer a barrier between civilized people. The wheels of commerce speed civilized men from land to land and they find themselves integrated by common interests.

There is a third agency by which the transmutation of society is accomplished. The literature of all lands is read in every land. The current history of all lands is recounted in every land. The agencies of intellectual culture are not restricted by national boundaries. Higher than all, and more potent than all, is the universal brotherhood of science by which the discovery made by one man is revealed to every other man and by which the generalization made by one man enriches the thought of all.

A fourth agency for the transmutation of society is found in the fine arts. The musical artist sings for the world. The limner paints for all lands. The actor impersonates for the universal stage. The novelist portrays for every fireside. The poet chants a lay to every dreamy heart. Thus the esthetic arts make a universal appeal to the finer feelings of mankind and forever teach the lesson of fraternity, and with the balm of joy heal the wounds of conflict.

Fifth, all of these indirect agencies for the transmutation of society coöperate with the development of governmental

principles due to the increasing intelligence of civilized men. With knowledge comes a love of justice that recognizes that rights may best be secured by the performance of duties. Forever and forever is this lesson taught by advancing culture. In the strife to establish justice through the agency of government men learn to delegate their power to representative men chosen for their wisdom.

The first presentation of the true nature of representative government is recorded in the literature of Greece. In Plato's *Republic* we find romance dealing with ideal government. The old philosopher dreamed of a state of society in which the conduct of government should be relegated to the wisest and best of mankind. Further, he attempted to set forth the conditions under which the wise men should rule by delineating their marriage relations and their property rights in terms that seem strange and even bizarre to modern thought. Alas, he did not properly comprehend the method by which the wise men could be selected. His theory of government by the wise and good became the ecclesiastical polity of the two great churches of early civilization, the Roman church and the Greek church, which were organized to secure the rule of the wise and good, and by both civil affairs were made subordinate to ecclesiastical affairs.

While Plato thus became potent in founding the policies of these churches, Aristotle was more influential in founding their philosophies. The role which these two great thinkers played in the history of early civilization was profound, for they cast the thought of centuries into molds of learning, and these molds gave figure and structure to philosophy and to church polity which has lasted until modern times, when the molds were broken only by the blows of science.

We have stated that to Plato we owe the earliest comprehension of the principles of representative government. These principles we must now set forth.

It is an inherent principle in society that the many follow

where the few lead. Knowledge is always born of one and diffuses to the many. The annals of science is the record of the discovery of individuals. Advances are made by discoverers and the world of science is dependent upon intellectual leaders. A new thought may lie dormant until it finds clear expression. It often happens that new thoughts gain acceptance only when they are presented by some person who has the genius of expression, but when they come to be deftly expressed they are speedily diffused among mankind.

We discover in nature that all knowledge has its purpose, and that this purpose is its utilization in affairs of life. All knowledge must be utilized in this manner before it has its final expression which all men may understand. Universal diffusion of knowledge can come only by its utilization in the affairs of life which interest all mankind. This utilization depends first upon the inventor and second upon the undertaker—the *entrepreneur*. It is thus that knowledge must have a triune leadership in the discoverer, the inventor, and the undertaker, and they must co-operate for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men, and then only does knowledge receive its final expression which all men may understand. It is within the province of every government to promote economic policies, and this it must do, either for weal or for woe. The leaders of the people must be protected and encouraged—protected from injustice and encouraged by due reward. As their operations have a profound effect upon the progress and welfare of mankind, this effect must be promoted by the establishment of justice to all. The four fundamental laws of economics for which governments are responsible are these: (1) Reward must be secured to the leaders; (2) protection must be given to leaders; (3) justice must be secured to their followers; and (4) welfare must be secured for all.

The four maxims of good government require for their operation some method of securing wise and good men to carry on the

government in all its departments. We have already seen that ancient society selected its leader by the methods of the pure democracy. There came a time when these methods broke down because of the great numbers of persons embraced in the body politic. Then the world tried a new plan of government by creating an hereditary aristocracy with hereditary kingship. This system also has failed. Now the effort to secure good government as representative government is undergoing trial. The theory of this method of government is fundamentally representative by election, but perhaps the principles of representation are inadequately understood.

Let us try to formulate these principles. Fundamental or primary representation should not extend beyond the boundaries of the primary units of government. These are townships or wards, and the governing officers of these units should be elected by the citizens of the several units. In the secondary units, or counties, electors should be chosen by every township or ward composing the county, and they should select county rulers or city rulers where counties and cities are coterminous. In the third unit, which is represented by the state in this country, the county electors should choose the state ruler. In the fourth or grand unit, which is the nation, the county electors should choose national electors, and the national electors should choose the officers of the general government. This, it is believed, would perfect representative government.

The rights and duties or the theater of operations of the several units of government should be defined; that is, township rights, county rights, state rights, and national rights should be jealously guarded and strictly observed.

History has already demonstrated that the government cannot safely be intrusted to an ecclesiastical body. History has already demonstrated that the government cannot be intrusted to an hereditary body. History has already demonstrated that the government cannot be intrusted to a purely democratic body.

The advanced nations of the earth are now making the experiment of intrusting government to a representative body, and it would be wisdom to consider how a representative body may be best chosen.

The history of mankind has been the constant theme of the ages, because it has been the subject in which men are most deeply interested. Especially has the rise and fall of nations, the rise and fall of dynasties, and the part which individuals have played in such affairs been the theme most attractive. Notwithstanding this fact, the outlines of history as they have heretofore been presented have consisted largely of a more or less bare statement of events in chronological order. Universal history has therefore been treated as annals. Special writers have attempted to treat of the different parts of history as the succession of causations, but universal history has rather been a compendium of names and dates. Since the establishment of some of the laws of evolution and the overthrow of the ancient doctrine of degeneracy, a new impetus has been given to history, and now a multitude of men are engaged in scientific research having in view the discovery of the progress of mankind by revealing the causations involved. For this purpose the world is ransacked for the vestiges of human culture in all of the pentologic departments of the humanities. Historics as a science is thus disclosing a vast body of facts relating to the evolution of pleasures, industries, institutions, languages, and opinions. Hitherto we have considered only the nature of institutions in attempting to set forth the four fundamental stages to be observed in their consideration.

The course of history in the evolution of institutions is the best nucleus about which to gather the data of progress in the other departments of history. The sketch we are attempting will not permit of any exhaustive treatment. We must content ourselves with only a brief reference to the evolution of pleasures, industries, languages, and opinions.

*The Four Stages of Esthetic Culture*

These stages are well represented in the fine arts, which are music, graphics, drama, romance, and poetry. The course of this evolution we have already set forth to the extent necessary to this argument.

We have shown that the stages of development in music are rhythm, melody, harmony, and symphony. In graphic art they are outlining, relief, perspective, and chiaroscuro. In drama they are dance, sacrifice, ceremony, and histrionic art. In romance they are beast fable, power myth, necromancy, and novels. In poetry they are personification, similitude, allegory, and trope.

*The Four Stages of Industrial Culture*

The four stages of industrial culture we have shown to be the hunter stage, the agricultural stage, the artisan stage, and the machinery stage, by setting forth the transmutations which these agencies have produced in society.

In like manner we shall briefly revert to four stages of culture in languages, and also in opinions, and shall attempt to correlate them with savagery, barbarism, monarchy, and republicanism. It hardly seems necessary to call attention to the concomitancy of the five fundamental elements of culture, but simply to affirm that they are connate and that there can be no pleasure without welfare, and no welfare without justice, and no justice without expression, and no expression without opinion.

## ETHICS

There is a fallacy in the reasoning of primeval man which has produced what has come to be known as the ghost theory. The notion of consciousness as a reified property independent of the body is the first-born of those fallacies which constitute the foundation of metaphysic. But primeval man did not discriminate consciousness from cognition; so that the fallacy was rather the

notion that organized consciousness or mind has existence independent of the body. So mind is reified and given a subtle tenuous body that can enter or depart from the material body.

To understand the origin of this notion we must first discriminate between inference and cognition, and then realize that cognition is verified inference and that there is no cognition without verification. Then we must understand that inference is the selection of a concept from memory with which to compare a sense impression. The consciousness of the sense impression and the consciousness of the concept are both attributes of self. Hence inference is the comparing of a psychic effect on self with a psychic memory of an effect on self, to discover whether this cause is like that cause. It thus happens that the self is taken as the standard of comparison in every inference. The objective world is thus gauged by the subjective world. This doctrine in which man is taken as the measure of the universe is known in science as anthropomorphism. In the individual it is the interpreting of the objective world by concepts of self, and as men communicate concepts to one another in the race it is the interpreting of the non-human universe in terms of the consciousness of man.

If we understand the nature of inference and its dependence on verification to become valid cognition, we are prepared to understand the origin of the ghost theory by unverified anthropomorphic inferences which produce fallacies that are only notions.

The fallacies at the foundation of the ghost theory are the fallacies of dreams. The notions of dreams are thus responsible for the primitive doctrine of a ghost as a reified property. In dreams we traverse the regions of space and witness strange scenes and take part in wonderful deeds and have astounding emotions.

That the notions of dream history are reinforced by the psychic phenomena of ecstasy, hypnotism, intoxication, and



insanity, we have set forth elsewhere. That such dream notions seem to be verified by certain phenomena of nature we have also shown, and need only to allude to shadows, reflected images, and echoes. Altogether this fallacy is deeply implanted in the savage mind; it continues as a notion even in the minds of some of the most intellectual men of modern culture. In savagery the notion is that all bodies animate and inanimate alike have ghosts; the theory is then called animism. The relic of this theory in modern culture is the belief that all animals have ghosts, or, still further specialized, that only human beings have ghosts.

The ghost theory has played an important role in the development of ethics which we will try to unfold.

In savagery, life and mind are attributes of ghosts. Material bodies are supposed to be inert, while to the ghostly bodies is attributed all action. Rocks, waters, plants, and stars, as well as animals, have ghosts. It is to ghosts that all purposes are attributed, and all powers to accomplish purposes inhere in the ghosts of material bodies. All of the good and evil which befall them are thus attributed to ghostly beings.

Dancing, music, and feasting are the superlative joys of savagery, and the joy is an attribute of ghosts. Pain also is the attribute of ghosts. Ghosts seek pleasure and avoid pain. It is universal in the primitive stage of society to seek for good and to avoid evil through the agency of ghosts. This motive leads to the organization of shamanistic customs which constitute the religion of the people to secure superlative good and to avoid superlative evil. The motive of primitive religion is the longing for superlative happiness, and it remains as the motive of religion in all stages of culture. Religion is thus a theory or doctrine of securing happiness. The happiness desired may be in the immediate future or the remote future; it may be for time or it may be for eternity, or it may be for both time and eternity. If we are to understand the nature of religion we must always conceive it to be a system of securing superlative happiness. The

motive of religion is the gain of happiness, and the methods of religion are the methods of obtaining happiness.

We are now to explain what methods of securing superlative happiness are devised in savagery.

Esthetic joys are the primary pleasures. Such joys are founded on the pleasures of physical activity; not the activity of labor itself, but on social activity. The dance is the primeval ceremony of religion; connate with it is the joy of feasting, so that both feasting and dancing constitute connate religious ceremonies that are universal in savage society. The festival is a religious ceremony of savagery. Preparation for the highest enjoyment of the festival is often found in the practice of fasting, so fasting becomes antecedent to festival. The pleasures of love naturally arise through the social pleasures of the festival and are often added. Therefore superlative happiness consists in the revelry of the festival.

Days come and wants are renewed. Plenty brings joy, but hunger brings pain. The memory of want is the mother of fear. The experience of hunger is the primitive motive to industry, but industry has precarious rewards in savagery. The hunt may be in vain. The tree may not yield its fruits. The savage seems forever to be the victim of chance. The seasons come with heat and cold, with sunshine and with storm, and these vicissitudes press upon the savage a load of care and thought, for good and evil are dependent on the changes of nature. Over this nature he seeks to gain control. Primitive man knows of control only as control of motive. The ghosts of the world must be controlled in the interest of the people of the tribe. Ere he has learned to plant he attempts to allure, and before he attempts to control he attempts to propitiate. He would secure happiness from the ghosts of the world by tempting them with the superlative joys with which he is himself conscious. So he attempts to influence ghosts with festivals, and to hold audience with the ghosts by charming them with the highest pleasures with which

he has knowledge. Not only is the festival an assemblage of people, but it is also an assemblage of disembodied ghosts who take pleasure with them.

The steps of the dance are controlled with the rhythm of music. Thus music and dancing become associated. Ghosts also love music. Music and dancing attract the ghosts to the festival and inspire in their tenuous hearts the highest gratitude. But how can ghosts best exhibit this gratitude to men? To accomplish this the forest dwellers devise methods of talking to ghosts, expressing their wants, revealing their intentions, and alluring to beneficent deeds. So ways are devised for communication with ghosts by gesture speech and illustration. In savagery a religious ceremony is a text of prayer with illustrations—prayer in gesture speech and illustration in altar symbols.

In every savage tribe a place of worship is provided, which is also a place for the assemblage of the people in council, in social converse, and in amusement. Then an altar is provided. An altar is a space upon the floor or a table on which the paraphernalia of worship are exhibited. They consist of various things designed to symbolize the objects of prayer. Perchance they pray for food; then corn, acorns, portions of animal food or parts of animals that are held to represent them are placed on the altar. With tribes that collect grasshoppers for food, grasshoppers are used and grasshopper cakes are displayed. With tribes that cultivated the maize, ears of corn become the emblems of desire, and ears of many different colors are selected to typify abundance. Then jewels of quartz and garnet and turkis and other precious stones are displayed to signify that the prayer is for well-matured grain, hard like the altar jewels. In arid lands they pray for showers and paint symbols of clouds upon altar tablets and provide flagons or ewers of water which they sprinkle in mimic showers with wands made of the feathers of birds. Birds are also associated in their minds with the planting time and with the harvest time, and they make images of birds, carving

them of wood and painting them with brilliant colors, or they make their bodies of fragments of cloth and decorate them with feathers. The birds are then placed upon perches and the perches placed upon the altar. Many are the devices to represent animal food.

The similitudes and associations which are suggested to the savage mind are utilized in this manner in many a quaint way. The "correspondences" which the sylvan mind discovers and invents to utilize in prayer speech would delight the heart of the mystic.

Having provided an altar with its holy objects, the devout shaman pours forth his praises to the ghostly divinities and invokes their aid in controlling the sunshine and the storm, chanting in established forms of speech and prescribed reiterations. As the prayer proceeds, at definite moments the appropriate symbols are displayed and symbolic actions are performed, all designed to illustrate the prayer.

Such are the prayers of the sylvan man, designed to secure superlative happiness. The ceremonies are performed periodically at appropriate seasons, and that they may not be neglected calendric systems are devised. These are painted on tablets of wood, on the tanned skins of animals, or on the walls of the house of worship, the calendars designating in some symbolic manner the time of the year when certain ceremonies are to be performed, the appropriate ceremonies for the time, the deities to whom the ceremonies are performed, and the characteristics of the ceremonies themselves.

As primitive music has a religious motive, so primordial carving and painting have a religious motive. In like manner the first dramatic performances are religious, all designed to propitiate ghost deities and to secure their favors. When this stage of esthetic art as religion is fully developed, men have passed from savagery to barbarism. To rhythm melody is added in music, to outline drawing relief is added in graphics, and to dancing

acting is added in the drama. Then terpsichorean religion is developed into sacrificial religion, for in barbarism the altar symbolism is further developed so that food and drink are sacrificed to the gods. In this stage the ghost deities are believed to enjoy for themselves not only the dancing but the feasting which is offered them.

All of the fine arts have their origin in religion, for in the worship of ghost deities tribal men seek to propitiate them and win their favors. In this effort they exhaust all their ingenuity in the production of music, graphic, drama, romance, and poetry. Tribal music is thus the worship of the gods; tribal graphic, in the same manner, is illustration to the gods; tribal drama is gesture speech to the gods; tribal romance is story about the gods, and tribal poetry is song of the gods; finally, tribal religion is first dancing to the gods, to which is added the feasting of the gods, and at the close of this state of society religion is terpsichorean and sacrificial in its essential characteristics. The practice of religion is no inconsiderable portion of tribal life, and it occupies a large share of tribal thought.

Here we must pause to emphasize the thought that religion has for its purpose the regulation of conduct in such manner as to secure, through the agency of the gods, superlative or perfect happiness. Thus is the conduct of men regulated by motives that although they are artificial they are yet profoundly potential, for the conduct which is thus instigated is held to be the wisest and best for mankind. It is the ethics of tribal men. Ethics is, therefore, a theory of superlative or perfect conduct. If we consider it as conduct, it is ethics; if we consider it as reward, it is religion. Ethics and religion are identical, the one is the reciprocal of the other.

Through the stage of monarchy the king usurps the function of high priest. His courtiers flatter him as the vice-regent of deity, and he strives to be considered in this light. Often self-deceived by adulation he has a profound faith in the sacred

character of his person and authority, notwithstanding which religion undergoes further development. The pageantry of kingly courts is the pageantry of religious ceremony. The festivals which are promoted by rulers all have a religious character, and the priesthood constitute a body of men which are often learned, often devout, often zealous, and often profoundly interested in the good of mankind. Ecclesiastics thus constitute a specialized body of men whose function it is to receive the new-born and consecrate them to the higher life of religion. It is their duty to train the youth in the nurture and admonition of religion. It is their duty to admonish and reprove for evil conduct. It is their duty to guide men in all the ways of life. When the most important event of social life occurs, they solemnize the marriage and they seek and often exercise the power of controlling marriage relations in the interest of religion; in sickness and in pain they shower comfort and fortitude, and they bear in their hands as offerings for religious conduct the bounties of paradise. When the portal of death is open, kindred and friends are consoled, and the occasion serves to enforce the doctrines of religion. Thus religion, which is a theory of superlative conduct, employs sanctions of superlative potency.

The association of the fine arts continues through the stage of monarchy. Largely their evolution is accomplished through the agency of the priesthood, and men of genius who are devout worshipers contribute their share to the advancement of esthetics often impelled by religious ecstasy. In music melody and harmony are added by ecclesiastics as an adjunct to temple worship. In graphic, to sculpture and relief perspective is added, impelled by the motive of decoration to the walls of the temple. In drama the mysteries of religion still constitute the theme, while to dancing and sacrifice ceremony is added. The drama is no longer the leading element in religious worship, but it becomes an accessory element designed to instruct the people in the mysteries of religion. In romance, to beast fables and power myths

tales of necromancy are added. In poetry, to personification and similitude allegory is added, and the themes of poetry are mainly the themes of religion.

Religion itself undergoes marked development. There still remains an element of terpsichorean worship and an element of sacrificial worship, but ceremonial worship is more highly developed, while terpsichorean and sacrificial worship is performed with an allegorical meaning.

Here we must note, as of profound significance, that the fine arts or arts of pleasure are all pursued in the interest of religion. Music, like all the other fine arts, may be made by individuals for personal pleasure, but, in tribal and monarchical society, the motive which secures excellence is demotic. This demotic excellence inheres in religious ceremonies. In these stages of society the evolution of the fine arts is therefore wholly dependent upon religion. It is thus that religion is practiced in intimate association with the pleasures of mankind from which it receives the glamour of superlative joy.

Ethics and religion are still identical, for religion as a theory of conduct is still the highest ethics of mankind.

We have yet to portray the evolution of ethics during the social state of republicanism. On the threshold of this phase of the subject we must consider the role which is played by great leaders in society. This we have already set forth in other departments of sociology, but in the department of ethics, moral leaders are most conspicuous, and by their disciples they are often esteemed divine, and especially do they rank as prophets. About their birth and about their personal history wonderful stories are told, and to their personal agency miracles are attributed. Among the most conspicuous of these great moral leaders, Laotse of the Chinese, Buddha of the Hindus, and Jesus of the Christians are perhaps most revered by the multitudes of mankind. Mohammed has a great body of disciples, though he departed from the course pursued by the others in attempting to propagate

his doctrines by the agency of the sword. These personages were all moral leaders who revolted against the ceremonial religion of their times, and as a substitute propounded doctrines of a higher ethical nature. He who would understand the principles of divine ethics must seek them in the teachings of Laotse, Buddha, and Jesus. Our civilization is familiar with the teachings of the tribes who taught moral perfection in the Sermon on the Mount, which has been reiterated, amplified, and illustrated by the greatest thinkers, the wisest men, and the purest characters that have lived in all the history of the Christian nations.

The disciples of these prophets have invoked the aid of the fine arts, and thus the most exalted of the esthetic pleasures have become associated with their teaching. The sweetest music has still a religious theme. The most beautiful graphic has still a religious motive, that is, an ethical motive. The most thrilling play has still an ethical purpose. The most absorbing story has still a higher moral. The most entrancing poem is still informed with the spirit of truth. Music has added symphony to its methods; painting has added chiaroscuro; drama has added histrionic representations; romance has added the delineation of consequences for moral conduct, and poetry has added trope.

Religion also has developed another stage which demands our consideration :

Moral concepts propagated by teaching and assimilated by acception are affiliated to the notions already entertained; hence great prophetic teachers are not able to diffuse their doctrines in their purity, they can only propagate them in a modified form.

Concepts are propagated by cross fertilization from which new varieties spring. To propagate fruits with their essential characteristics we must resort to cuttings; but concepts cannot be propagated as cuttings, but only by fertilization. Thus moral concepts in the process of diffusion are modified. It is impossible in society to start a new stock of concepts. Moral



opinions cannot abruptly be revolutionized; they can only be developed. The past cannot be ignored by the present; the present is ever modifying the past. Healthy change must be evolution, not revolution, though there is an element of revolution in all evolution. Something must be overthrown that evolution may be accomplished. The individuals of a species must die that new species may be developed, but the new species must be the offspring of the old.

The great moral teachers and prophets have never succeeded in establishing a principle of ethics in all its purity as conceived by themselves. The notions of ceremony developed during the stage of monarchy were modified by the teachings of the prophets, so that a ceremonial religion was developed into a fiducial religion in which the ceremonies are considered as efficient agencies of teaching; but the essential nature of ethical conduct is held to inhere in the opinions which men entertain. Ethics is a faith, and hence we call this stage of ethics fiducial. Men must entertain the opinions believed to be wise that they may gain that superlative happiness which is the reward of conduct.

But how shall men know the good from the evil conduct? By what criterion shall men be guided in the affairs of life? Here a threefold standard is erected. The first is the teaching of the ancients, the second is the teaching of the priesthood, the third is the voice of conscience. These three authorities are supposed to coincide in producing valid concepts of good and evil.

Conscience is the instinctive impulse to moral conduct. To understand this statement we must explain the origin of instincts. Instinct is to the emotions what intuition is to the intellections. Intuitions are habitual judgments of intellect, as instincts are habitual judgments of emotion. As intuitions become hereditary, so instincts become hereditary. The substrate of instinct is the choice exhibited in affinity. In the human mind the

affinity of the several particles is organized as an apparatus of choice with a nervous system of ganglia, nervous fibers, and muscular apparatus which consists of a hierarchy of instruments of activity, otherwise called self-activity.

The habitual exercise of this apparatus in any particular method results in the production of habits which, on becoming hereditary, are called instincts. An instinct is inherited not as a developed habit, but as a tendency and facility to do or act in a definite manner. In common life these instincts are observed on every hand. The instinct to partake of food is inherited as an aptness and developed as a practice; so the instinct to walk is inherited as aptness and developed by practice. The instinctive fear of serpents is inherited as an aptness and developed by practice, so that children as well as adults easily acquire the fear of serpents and express this fear and repulsion by acts of fright and avoidance. The fear of fire is easily and speedily developed.

There thus exists a tendency in the human mind to moral conduct and to inhibition of immoral conduct. This tendency is called conscience. Every human being is thus endowed with conscience as an instinct or hereditary aptness to act in a moral way. There are many other habits that are instinctive, and other instincts may control the individual while the moral instinct is held in abeyance. The moral instinct, like all the other instincts, is inherited only as an aptness and must be developed by exercise. Conscience can be cultivated only by the moral sentiments which the individual entertains. The sentiments of good and evil are governed by the knowledge of truth and error; that is, the emotions are fundamentally governed by the intellect, although the emotions may in like manner govern the intellect, for intellect and emotion are coöperative in every act of life. The knowledge of good and evil follows hard upon the knowledge of truth and error. In the economy of nature the intellect is first the servant of the emotional life until by its high development it becomes the master. In the ethics or religion of man

in the scientific stage of culture the knowledge of good and evil will depend upon the knowledge of truth and error. Then conscience will be an infallible guide; thus conscience becomes the ultimate criterion. Ethical conduct is conduct sanctioned by conscience. The ideal of religion has ever been the control of conduct by that agency, although other sanctions have been employed. Conscience is the child of religion and evolves as religion evolves, and religion evolves as the intellect evolves.

Such are the characteristics of the religion or principles of ethics inherited by the moral teachers of modern times—teachers who flourish in the atmosphere of science. Among these there is a goodly number of moral reformers; in fact, as a class they are all moral reformers, some preaching against this evil, some against that; some exalting this virtue, others exalting that. The moral teachers of the times are more and more eschewing the ancient doctrines of theoretical ethics and devoting their energy to practical ethics. Theories of faith are held in abeyance to theories of practice. It needs but a few generations to come and go before the new teaching of theory will be founded wholly on principles derived from practice. This will be the establishment of scientific ethics.

The agencies of religion are multifarious; the teachers of religion are potent. The organization of institutions of religion are all progressive. They have not to be overthrown, but only to be perfected.

We have identified ethics with religion. The teachers of religion may have erred in theories of ethics, and they may have been instrumental in the enforcement of ethical doctrines by unwise agencies. Some of these agencies have been of a character utterly revolting to modern concepts of good and evil conduct. Usually the religion taught has been the religion believed, though hypocrites have often nestled in the fold. The claim for superior conduct and for the sanctities of its teachings has enticed bad men into the ecclesiastical ranks. Above all

and more than all, the establishment of an official priesthood as one of the functions of government and one of the aristocratic estates has been the cause of abuses and horrors in the name of religion for which the student of ecclesiastical history must forever blush.

As astronomy was developed from astrology, as chemistry was developed from alchemy, as medicine was developed from necromancy, so ethics is the lineal descendant of animism. Purified from animism, religion will remain forever to bless mankind.

Having set forth the nature of ethics, it now remains to classify its subject matter in compliance with the pentalogic qualities.

It is believed that the classification will occur to every attentive reader and that its fundamental nature is evident. It is necessary, therefore, to state the classification without further elaboration. The subject is grouped into (1) the ethics of pleasure and pain; (2) the ethics of welfare and want; (3) the ethics of justice and injustice; (4) the ethics of truth and falsehood; (5) the ethics of wisdom and folly.

It is the province of ethics to teach perfect character by promoting conduct governed by principles instinctively entertained as conscience, so that all acts are spontaneously good. The conduct of such a man is purely ethical.

In the science of economics we find that self-interest is subserved by promoting the interest of others. In the science of institutions it is discovered that justice for self can be obtained only by doing justice to others. Rights may be obtained by performing duties. In the science of ethics we learn that all conduct, egoistic and altruistic alike, must become spontaneous and habitual. Habitual conduct thus spontaneously controlled has its sanctions in conscience. Ethics, therefore, is the science of conduct controlled by conscience.